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Little wanderer, hast thou never  
Seen my Nice's beauteous eyes?  
On her lips there's honey ever;  
Sweetness there forever lies.

On the lip of her, the fairest,  
On my lovely maiden's lip,  
There is honey, purest, rarest,  
Thither come and freely sip.

This song is found in the first volume of Meli's poetic works. Another entitled *Li Capiddi*, in the same volume, is exceedingly lively, and a favorite with the Italians.

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ART. VI.—*Mémoires pour servir à la Vie du Général Lafayette et à l'Histoire de l'Assemblée constituante, rédigés par M. REGNAULT-WARIN.* A Paris 1824. 2 vols. 8vo.

*Memoirs of the Life of Gilbert Motier Lafayette.* By GEN. H. L. VILLAUME DUCOUDRAY HOLSTEIN, who contributed, under the fictitious Name of Peter Feldmann, to his Liberation from the Prisons of Olmütz. Translated from the French Manuscript. New York. 1824. 12mo. pp. 305.

AMONG the many publications which have recently appeared concerning General Lafayette, both in Europe and in this country, we have selected those by M. Regnault-Warin and General Ducoudray Holstein, as the most prominent. We are sorry, however, to find that both of them are very deficient and imperfect; unworthy of the subject to which they are devoted, and unable to give any becoming impression of the times in which Lafayette lived and has borne so important a part.

The work of M. Regnault-Warin is a clumsy, ill digested book, which forms one of a cumbrous series of similar publications, now coming from the press in France, and devoted to the French Revolution. It is called *Memoirs of Lafayette*; but is in fact anything rather than a Biography. It is filled principally with political discussions written in a bad style, and with a tendency, which it is not always easy to understand;

and its chief value to one who wishes to learn anything of the life and character of Lafayette, is to be sought in a few documents, which are scattered through the volumes, or thrown into an Appendix at the end.

The work published by General Ducoudray Holstein at New York is much worse. It is not entitled to credit. Nearly half of it is taken up with the five years that elapsed between the moment when General Lafayette left the army in August 1792, and his release from the dungeons of Olmütz in August 1797; and the whole of this, when compared with the accounts given by Toulangeon, which Madame de Staël declares to be authentic; with Bollmann's own story of his attempt to rescue Lafayette in 1794; and with the general facts known everywhere, and the details that may still be obtained from living witnesses, can be considered only as an unhappy attempt at romance. Indeed the entire work is not much better, for though, in some portions, the facts and dates may be given with more accuracy, yet a false or exaggerated coloring is everywhere perceptible, and the documents and public acts, which were originally in English, and after being translated into French by the author, are now retranslated into English for his publisher, come to us so travestied, that their original features can hardly be recognised. Finding these two books, therefore, of so little value, we have resorted to other sources, sometimes more authentic, and always more ample and interesting, and have much pleasure in laying before our readers, what we have collected concerning the distinguished person with whom this whole country now 'rings from side to side.'

The family of General Lafayette has long been distinguished in the history of France. As early as 1422, the Marshal de Lafayette defeated and killed the Duke of Clarence at Beaugé, and thus saved his country from falling entirely into the power of Henry Fifth, of England. Another of his ancestors, Madame de Lafayette, the intimate friend and correspondent of Madame de Sevigné, and one of the most brilliant ornaments of the court of Louis Fourteenth, was the first person who ever wrote a romance, relying for its success on domestic character, and thus became the founder of the most popular department in modern literature. His father fell in the battle of Rossbach on the 5th of November, 1757,

and therefore survived the birth of his son only two months. These, with many more memorials of his family, scattered through the different portions of French history for nearly five centuries, are titles to distinction, which it is particularly pleasant to recollect, when they fall, as they now do, on one so singularly fitted to receive and increase them.

General Lafayette himself was born in Auvergne, in the south of France, on the 6th of September, 1757. When quite young, he was sent to the College of Louis le Grand at Paris, where he received that classical education, of which, when recently at Cambridge, he twice gave remarkable proof in uncommonly happy quotations from Cicero, suited to circumstances that could not have been foreseen. Somewhat later, he was placed at Court, first, we believe, as page to the Queen, and afterwards as an officer in one of the small bodies of guards of honor, where rank marks a very high distinction. When only seventeen, he was married to the daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, son of the Duke de Noailles; and thus his condition in life seemed to be assured to him among the most splendid and powerful in the empire. His fortune, which had been accumulating during a long minority, was vast; his rank was with the first in Europe; his connexions brought him the support of the chief persons in France; and his individual character, the warm, open, and sincere manners, which have distinguished him ever since, and given him such singular control over the minds of men, made him powerful in the confidence of society wherever he went. It seemed, indeed, as if life had nothing further to offer him, than he could surely obtain by walking in the path that was so bright before him.

It was at this period, however, that his thoughts and feelings were first turned towards these thirteen colonies, then in the darkest and most doubtful passage of their struggle for independence. He made himself acquainted with our agents at Paris, and learnt from them the state of our affairs. Nothing could be less tempting to him, whether he sought military reputation or military instruction, for our army at that moment retreating through New Jersey, and leaving its traces in blood from the naked and torn feet of the soldiery as it hastened onward, was in a state too humbled to offer either. Our credit, too, in Europe was entirely gone, so that

the commissioners, as they were called, without having any commission, to whom Lafayette still persisted in offering his services, were obliged, at last, to acknowledge that they could not even give him decent means for his conveyance. 'Then,' said he, 'I shall purchase and fit out a vessel for myself.' He did so. The vessel was prepared, we believe, at Bourdeaux ; and sent round to one of the nearest ports in Spain, in order to be beyond the power of the French Government. After he was determined to come to this country and before he embarked, he made a visit of a few weeks in England ; the only time he was ever there, and was much sought in English society. On his return to France he still kept his purposes in relation to America partly or entirely secret ; and it was not until he had already left Paris in order to embark, that his romantic undertaking was generally known.

The effect produced in the capital and at court by its publication was greater than we should now, perhaps, imagine. Lord Stormont, the English Ambassador, compelled the French Ministry to despatch an order for his arrest, not only to Bourdeaux but to the French naval commanders on the American station. His family, too, sent, or were understood to send, in pursuit of him ; and society at Paris, according to Madame du Deffand's account of it, was in no common state of excitement on the occasion.\* Something of the same sort happened in London. 'We talk chiefly,' says Gibbon, in a letter dated April 12th, 1777, 'of the Marquis de Lafayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty, with a hundred and thirty thousand livres a year, the nephew of Noailles, who is ambassador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingston's yacht, and is gone to join the Americans. The court *appear* to be angry with him.'

\* De tous les départs présents, celui qui est le plus singulier et le plus étonnant, c'est celui de M. de Lafayette. Il n' a pas vingt ans ; il est parti ces jours-ci pour l'Amérique ; il emmène avec lui huit ou dix de ses amis ; il n'avait confié son projet qu' au Vicomte de Noailles, sous le plus grand secret ; il a acheté un vaisseau, l'a équipé, et s' est embarqué à Bordeaux. Sitôt que ses parents en ont eu la nouvelle, ils ont fait courir après lui pour l' arrêter et le ramener ; mais on est arrivé trop tard, il y avait trois heures qu' il était embarqué. C'est une folie, sans doute, mais qui ne le déshonore point, et qui au contraire marque du courage et du désir de la gloire. On le loue plus qu' on le blame ; mais sa femme, qu' il laisse grosse de quatre mois, son beau-père, sa belle-mère, et toute sa famille en sont fort affligés. *Lettre de Mad. du Deffand a H. Walpole, 31 Mars, 1777.*

He, however, escaped all pursuit, whether serious or pretended, and arrived safely at Charleston, S. C. on the 25th of April, 1777.

The sensation produced by his appearance in this country was, of course, much greater than that produced in Europe by his departure. It still stands forth, as one of the most prominent and important circumstances in our revolutionary contest ; and, as has often been said by one who bore no small part in its trials and success, none but those who were then alive, can believe what an impulse it gave to the hopes of a population almost disheartened by a long series of disasters. And well it might ; for it taught us, that in the first rank of the first nobility in Europe, men could still be found, who not only took an interest in our struggle, but were willing to share our sufferings ; that our obscure and almost desperate contest for freedom in a remote quarter of the world, could yet find supporters among those, who were the most natural and powerful allies of a splendid despotism ; that we were the objects of a regard and interest throughout the world, which would add to our own resources sufficient strength to carry us safely through to final success.

Immediately after his arrival, Lafayette received the offer of a command in our army, but declined it. Indeed, during the whole of his service with us, he seemed desirous to show, by his conduct, that he had come only to render disinterested assistance to our cause. He began, therefore, by clothing and equipping a body of men at Charleston at his own expense ; and then entered, as a volunteer, without pay, into our service. He lived in the family of the Commander in Chief, and won his full affection and confidence. He was appointed a Major General in our service, by a vote of Congress, on the 31st of July, 1777, and in September of the same year, was wounded at Brandywine. He was employed in 1778 both in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, and after having received the thanks of the country for his important services, embarked at Boston in January, 1779, for France, thinking he could assist us more effectually, for a time, in Europe than in America.

He arrived at Versailles, then the regular residence of the French court, on the 12th of February, and the same day had a long conference with one of the ministers. He did not see

the king ; and in a letter written at Court the next day, we are told, that he received an order to visit none but his relations, as a form of censure for having left France without permission ; but this was an order, that fell very lightly on him, for he was connected by birth or marriage with almost every body at court, and every body else thronged to see him at his own hotel. The treaty, which was concluded between America and France at just about the same period, and was publicly known a little later, was, by Lafayette's personal exertions, made effective in our favor. As soon as this was done, or as soon as he had ascertained that he should be speedily followed by a French fleet for our assistance, he embarked to return, and on the 11th of May communicated the intelligence confidentially to the Commander in Chief at Head Quarters, having been absent from the army hardly five months.

Immediately on his return, he entered into our service with the same disinterested zeal he had shown on his first arrival. He received the separate command of a body of infantry consisting of about two thousand men, and clothed and equipped it partly at his own expense, rendering it by unwearied exertions, constant sacrifices, and wise discipline, the best corps in the army. What he did for us, while at the head of this division, is known to all, who have read the history of their country. His forced march to Virginia, in December 1780, raising two thousand guineas at Baltimore, on his own credit, to supply the pressing wants of his troops ; his rescue of Richmond, which but for his great exertions must have fallen into the enemy's hands ; his long trial of generalship with Cornwallis, who foolishly boasted in an intercepted letter, that ' the boy could not escape him ; ' and finally the siege of Yorktown, the storming of the redoubt, and the surrender of the place in October, 1781, are proofs of talent as a military commander, and devotion to the welfare of these states, for which he never has been repaid, and, in some respects, never can be.

He was, however, desirous to make yet greater exertions in our favor, and announced his project of revisiting France for the purpose. Congress had already repeatedly acknowledged his merits and services in formal votes. They now acknowledged them more formally than ever by a resolution

of November 23d, in which, besides all other expressions of approbation, they desire the foreign ministers of this government to confer with him in their negotiations concerning our affairs; a mark of respect and deference, of which we know no other example.

In France a brilliant reputation had preceded him. The cause of America was already popular there, and his exertions and sacrifices in it, which, from the first, had seemed so chivalrous and romantic, now came reflected back upon him in the strong light of popular enthusiasm. Before his return, the following beautiful verses, from the Gaston et Bayard of Belloy, had been often applauded and their repetition sometimes called for, on the public Theatre, and Madame Campan tells us, that she for a long time preserved them in the handwriting of the unfortunate Queen of Louis Sixteenth, who had transcribed them because they had thus been publicly appropriated to the popular favorite of the time.

Eh ! que fait sa jeunesse  
Lorsque de l'âge mûr je lui vois la sagesse ?  
Profond dans ses desseins, qu'il trace avec froideur,  
C'est pour les accomplir, qu'il garde son ardeur.  
Il sait défendre un camp et forcer des murailles ;  
Comme un jeune soldat désirant les batailles,  
Comme un vieux général il sait les éviter.  
Je me plais à le suivre et même à l'imiter.  
J'admire sa prudence et j'aime son courage.  
Avec ces deux vertus un guerrier n'a point d'âge.

Act. I. Sc. 4.

A similar circumstance happened, or rather in this second instance was prepared, at about the same time by Rochon de Chabannes, who introduced the following portrait of him into his *Amour François*, acted in 1780.

On est compté pour rien, quand on est inutile ;  
L'oisiveté, monsieur, est une mort civile....  
Voyez ce courtisan à peu près de votre âge ;  
Il renonce aux douceurs d'un récent mariage,  
Aux charmes de la cour, aux plaisirs de Paris,  
La gloire seule échauffe, embrase ses esprits,  
Il vole la chercher sur un autre hémisphère, etc.

The resemblance was, of course, immediately recognised, and the name of Lafayette, which at first was murmured



doubtfully, was, at the conclusion shouted throughout the Theatre in a tumult of applause. It is not remarkable, therefore, with such a state of feeling, while he was still absent from the country, that, on his return, he was followed by crowds in the public streets wherever he went; and that, in a journey he made to one of his estates in the south of France, the towns through which he passed, received him with processions and civic honors; and that in the city of Orleans he was detained nearly a week by the festivities they had prepared for him.

He did not, however, forget our interests amidst the popular admiration with which he was surrounded. On the contrary, though the negotiations for a peace were advancing, he was constantly urging upon the French government the policy of sending more troops to this country, as the surest means of bringing the war to a speedy and favorable termination. He at last succeeded; and Count d'Estaing was ordered to hold himself in readiness to sail for the United States, as soon as Lafayette should join him. When, therefore, he arrived at Cadiz, he found forty-nine ships and twenty thousand men ready to follow him; and they would have been on our coast early in the spring, if peace had not rendered further exertions unnecessary. This great event was first announced to Congress, by a letter from Lafayette, dated in the harbor of Cadiz, Feb. 5, 1783.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, Lafayette began to receive pressing invitations to visit the country, whose cause he had so materially assisted. Washington, in particular, was extremely urgent; and yielding not only to these instances, but to an attachment to the United States, of which his whole life has given proof, he embarked again for our shores and landed at New York on the 4th of August 1784. His visit, however, was short. He went almost immediately to Mount Vernon, where he passed a few days in the family of which he was so long a cherished member, and then visiting Annapolis, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, and Boston, received everywhere with unmingled enthusiasm and delight, he reembarked for France. But when he was thus about to leave the United States for the third, and, as it then seemed, the last time, Congress in December 1784, appointed a solemn deputation, consisting for its greater dignity, of

one member from each state, with instructions to take leave of him on behalf of the whole country, and to assure him, 'that these United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him.' It was at the same time resolved, that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense, which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his Majesty. We are not aware, that a more complete expression of dignified and respectful homage could have been offered to him.

During the year that followed the arrival of Lafayette in his own country, he found the minds of men more agitated on questions of political right, than they had ever been before. Into some of the grave and perilous discussions that were then going on, he entered at once; on others he waited; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and, on all, he preserved the most perfect consistency. He was for some time ineffectually employed with Malesherbes in endeavoring to relieve the Protestants of France from political disabilities, and place them on the same footing with other subjects. He was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against the slave trade; and it is worth notice, that having devoted considerable sums of money to purchase slaves in one of the colonies, and educate them for emancipation, the faction, which in 1792 proscribed him, as an enemy to freedom, sold these very slaves back to their original servitude. And finally, at about the same time, he attempted to form a league of the European Powers against the Barbarous Pirates, which, if it had succeeded, would have done more for their suppression, than has been done by Sir Sidney Smith's Association, or is likely to follow Lord Exmouth's victories.

But while he was busied in the interests, to which these discussions gave rise, the materials for great internal changes were collecting together at Paris from all parts of France; and in February 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Lafayette was, of course, a member, and the tone he held throughout its session contributed essentially to give a marked character to its deliberations. He proposed the suppression

of the odious *lettres de cachet*, of which Mirabeau declared in the National Assembly, that seventeen had been issued against him before he was thirty years old ; he proposed the enfranchisement of the Protestants, who, from the time of the abolition of the Edict of Nantz, had been suffering under more degrading disabilities than the Catholics now are in Ireland ; and he proposed by a formal *motion*,—which was the first time that word was ever used in France, and marks an important step towards a regular, deliberative assembly,—he made a *motion* for the convocation of Representatives of the people. ‘What,’ said the Count d’Artois, now Charles Tenth, who presided in the Assembly of the Notables, ‘do you ask for the States General?’ ‘Yes,’ replied Lafayette, ‘and for something more and better ;’ an intimation, which, though it can be readily understood by all who have lived under a representative government, was hardly intelligible in France at that time.

Lafayette was, also, a prominent member of the States General, which met in 1789, and assumed the name of the National Assembly. He proposed in this body a Declaration of Rights not unlike our own, and it was under his influence and while he was, for this very purpose, in the chair, that a decree was passed on the night of the 13th and 14th of July, at the moment the Bastille was falling before the cannon of the populace, which provided for the responsibility of ministers, and thus furnished one of the most important elements of a representative monarchy. Two days afterwards, he was appointed Commander in Chief of the National Guards of Paris, and thus was placed at the head of what was intended to be made, when it should be carried into all the departments, the effective military power of the realm, and what, under his wise management, soon became such.

His great military command, and his still greater personal influence, now brought him constantly in contact with the court and the throne. His position, therefore, was extremely delicate and difficult, especially as the popular party in Paris of which he was not so much the head, as the idol, was already in a state of perilous excitement, and atrocious violences were beginning to be committed. The abhorrence of the queen was almost universal, and was excessive to a degree of which we can now have no just idea. The circumstance

that the court lived at Versailles, sixteen miles from Paris, and that the session of the National Assembly was held there, was another source of jealousy, irritation, and hatred, on the part of the capital. The populace of Paris, therefore, as a sign of opposition, had adopted a cockade of blue and red, whose effects were already becoming alarming. Lafayette, who was anxious about the consequences of such a marked division, and who knew how important are small means of conciliation, added to it, on the 26th of July, the white of the Royal Arms, and as he placed it in his own hat, amidst the acclamations of the multitude, prophesied, that it 'would go round the world;' a prediction, which is already more than half accomplished, since the tricolored cockade has been used for the ensign of emancipation in Spain, in Naples, in some parts of South America, and in Greece.

Still, however, the tendency of everything was to confusion and violence. The troubles of the times, too, rather than a positive want of the means of subsistence, had brought on a famine in the capital; and the populace of the *Faux-bourgs*, the most degraded certainly in France, having assembled and armed themselves, determined to go to Versailles; the greater part with a blind desire for vengeance on the royal family, but others only with the purpose of bringing the king from Versailles, and forcing him to reside in the more ancient but scarcely habitable palace of the *Thuilleries*, in the midst of Paris. The National Guards clamored to accompany this savage multitude; Lafayette opposed their inclination; the municipality of Paris hesitated, but supported it; he resisted nearly the whole of the 5th of October, while the road to Versailles was already thronged with an exasperated mob of above an hundred thousand ferocious men and women, until, at last, having received an order to march, from the competent authority, he set off at four o'clock in the afternoon, as one going to a post of imminent danger, which it had clearly become his duty to occupy.

He arrived at Versailles at ten o'clock at night, after having been on horseback from before daylight in the morning, and having made, during the whole interval, both at Paris and on the road, incredible exertions to control the multitude and calm the soldiers. 'The Marquis de Lafayette at last entered the Château,' says Madame de Staël, 'and passing

through the apartment where we were, went to the king. We all pressed round him, as if he were the master of events, and yet the popular party was already more powerful than its chief, and principles were yielding to factions, or rather were beginning to serve only as their pretext. M. de Lafayette's manner was perfectly calm; nobody ever saw it otherwise; but his delicacy suffered from the importance of the part he was called to act. He asked for the interior posts of the château, in order that he might ensure their safety. Only the outer posts were granted to him.' This refusal was not disrespectful to him who made the request. It was given, simply because the etiquette of the court reserved the guard of the royal person and family to another body of men. Lafayette, therefore, answered for the National Guards, and for the posts committed to them; but he could answer for no more;\* and his pledge was faithfully and desperately redeemed.

Between two and three o'clock, the queen and the royal family went to bed. Lafayette, too, slept after the great fatigues of this fearful day. At half past four, a portion of the populace made their way into the palace by an obscure, interior passage, which had been overlooked, and which was not in that part of the château entrusted to Lafayette. They were evidently led by persons who well knew the secret avenues. Mirabeau's name was afterwards strangely compromised in it, and the form of the infamous Duke of Orleans was repeatedly recognised on the great staircase, pointing the assassins the way to the queen's chamber. They easily found it. Two of her guards were cut down in an instant; and she made her escape almost naked. Lafayette immediately rushed in with the national troops, protected the Swiss guards from the brutal populace, and saved the lives of the royal family, which had so nearly been sacrificed to the etiquette of the monarchy.

The day dawned as this fearful scene of guilt and bloodshed was passing in the magnificent palace, whose construction had exhausted the revenues of Louis Fourteenth, and which,

\* So completely were all persons unsuspecting of any *immediate* danger, that the guards of the *interior* posts were nowhere increased; and not the slightest change was made in the customary arrangements, except what was made at the solicitation of Lafayette.

for a century, had been the most splendid residence in Europe. As soon as it was light, the same furious multitude filled the vast space, which, from the rich materials of which it is formed, passes under the name of the court of marble. They called upon the king, in tones not to be mistaken, to go to Paris; and they called for the queen, who had but just escaped from their daggers, to come out upon the balcony. The king, after a short consultation with his ministers, announced his intention to set out for the capital; but Lafayette was afraid to trust the queen in the midst of the bloodthirsty multitude. He went to her, therefore, with respectful hesitation, and asked her if it were her purpose to accompany the king to Paris. 'Yes,' she replied, 'although I am aware of the danger.' 'Are you positively determined?' 'Yes, sir.' 'Condescend, then, to go out upon the balcony, and suffer me to attend you.' 'Without the king?'—she replied, hesitating—'Have you observed the threats?' 'Yes, Madame, I have; but dare to trust me.' He led her out upon the balcony. It was a moment of great responsibility and great delicacy; but nothing, he felt assured, could be so dangerous as to permit her to set out for Paris, surrounded by that multitude, unless its feelings could be changed. The agitation, the tumult, the cries of the crowd, rendered it impossible that his voice should be heard. It was necessary, therefore, to address himself to the eye, and turning towards the queen, with that admirable presence of mind, which never yet forsook him, and with that mingled grace and dignity, which were the peculiar inheritance of the ancient court of France, he simply kissed her hand before the vast multitude. An instant of silent astonishment followed, but the whole was immediately interpreted, and the air was rent with cries of 'Long live the queen! Long live the general!' from the same fickle and cruel populace, that only two hours before had embued their hands in the blood of the guards, who defended the life of this same queen.

The same day, that this scene was passing, the first meeting of the Jacobin club was held. Against this club and its projects Lafayette at once declared himself. With Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, he organised an opposing club, and the victory between the two parties was doubtful for above a year and a half. The contest, however, which was pro-

duced by this state of things, placed Lafayette in a very embarrassing and dangerous position. He was obliged to oppose the unprincipled purposes of the Jacobins, without retreating towards the principles of the ancient despotism ; and it is greatly to his honor, that he did it most faithfully and consistently. When, therefore, on the 20th of June, 1790, a proposition was suddenly made in the Convention to abolish all titles of nobility, Lafayette, true to his principles, rose to second it. A short discussion followed. It was objected to the abolition of rank, that, if there were no titles, no such reward could be conferred as was once conferred by Henry Second, when he created an obscure person, according to the terms of his patent, ‘noble and count, for having saved the country at such a time.’ ‘The only difference,’ replied Lafayette, ‘will be, that the words, noble and count will be left out, and the patent will simply declare, that on such an occasion, such a man saved the state.’ From this time Lafayette renounced the title of Marquis, and has never since resumed it. Since the restoration of the Bourbons, indeed, and the revival of the ancient nobility, there has been sometimes an affectation among the Ultra Royalists of calling him by his former title ; but he has never recognised it, and is still known in France only by the address of General. At least, if he is sometimes called otherwise there, it is not by his friends.

At length the Constitution of a representative Monarchy, which Lafayette’s exertions had, from the first opening of the Convention, been consistently devoted to establish, was prepared ; and all were desirous that it should be received and recognised by the nation in the most solemn manner. The day chosen, as most appropriate for the ceremony, was the 14th of July, 1790, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille ; and the open space behind the military school, called the Champ de Mars, from the Campus Martius of the Romans, was the place fixed on for this great national festival and solemnity. By the constant labor of from one to two hundred thousand persons of both sexes and all ranks, from dukes and duchesses, bishops and deputies, down to the humblest artisans, who all made the occasion like the Saturnalia of the ancients, an amphitheatre of earth four miles in circumference was raised in a few weeks, whose sides

were formed of seats destined to receive the French people, and in whose centre stood the Throne and the Altar. On the morning, therefore, of the day, when the whole was to be consummated, the king, the court, the clergy, the National Assembly, a deputation of the military from the eightythree departments, and a body of people amounting to above four hundred thousand souls were assembled in this magnificent amphitheatre. Mass was first said, and then Lafayette, who that day had the military command of six millions of men, and held in his hands the power of the monarchy, swore to the Constitution on behalf of the nation, at the altar which had been erected in the midst of the arena. Every eye of that immense mass was turned on him ; every hand was raised to join the oath he uttered. It was, no doubt, one of the most magnificent and solemn ceremonies the world ever saw ; and, perhaps, no man ever enjoyed the sincere confidence of an entire people more completely than Lafayette did, as he thus bore the most imposing part in these extraordinary solemnities.

The Champ de Mars, however, as Madame de Staël has well observed, was the last movement of a genuine national enthusiasm in France. The Jacobins were constantly gaining power, and the revolution was falling more and more into the hands of the populace. When the king wished to go to St Cloud with his family, in order to pass through the duties of Easter, under the ministration of a priest, who had not taken certain civil oaths, which, in the eyes of many conscientious Catholics desecrated those who received them ; the populace and the national guards tumultuously stopped his carriage. Lafayette arrived, at the first suggestion of danger. 'If,' said he, 'this be a matter of conscience with your majesty, we will, if it is necessary, die to maintain it ;' and he offered immediately to open a passage by force ; but the king hesitated at first, and finally determined to remain in Paris.

Lafayette, indeed, under all circumstances remained strictly faithful to his oaths ; and now defended the freedom of the king, as sincerely as he had ever defended the freedom of the people. His situation, therefore, became every day more dangerous. He might have taken great power to himself, and so have been safe. He might have received the



sword of Constable of France, which was once worn by the Montmorencies, but he declined it; or he might have been Generalissimo of the National Guards, who owed their existence to him; but he thought it more for the safety of the state, that no such power should exist. Having, therefore, organised this last body, according to the project he had originally formed for it, he resigned all command with a disinterestedness of which, perhaps, Washington alone could have been his example; and retired to his estate in the country, followed, as he had been for many years, by crowds wherever he went, and accompanied on his way by every form of popular enthusiasm and admiration.

From the tranquillity to which he now gladly turned, he was soon called by the war with Austria, declared April 20th, 1792, and in which he was, at once, appointed one of the three Major Generals to command the French armies. His labors, in the beginning of this war, which he did not approve, were very severe, and the obstacles he surmounted, some of which were purposely thrown in his way by the factions of the capital, were grave and alarming. But the Jacobins at Paris were now a well organised body, and were fast maturing their arrangements to overturn the Constitution. Violences of almost every degree of atrocity were become common, and that public order, of which Lafayette had never ceased to speak on all suitable occasions, no longer existed.\* Under these circumstances, he felt that his silence would be an abandonment of the principles to the support of which he had devoted his life; and with a courage, which few men in any age have been able to show, and with a temperance, which has always kept his conduct on one even line, he wrote a letter to the Convention, dated June 16th, in which he plainly denounced the growing faction of the Jacobins, and called on the constituted authorities to put a stop to the atrocities this faction was openly promoting. In the course of this letter, he dared to say; 'Let the royal authority be untouched, for it is guarantied by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of

\* It is a singular fact, that in all Lafayette's speeches and addresses between 1787 and 1792, he hardly once mentions *Freedom*, without coupling it with some intimation or injunction to respect and support *Public Order*. Since that time, the two phrases have been generally united; but they have not always meant as much as they did when used by Lafayette.

the springs of our liberty ; let the king be respected, for he is invested with the majesty of the nation ; let him choose a ministry that shall wear the chains of no faction ; and if traitors exist, let them perish only under the sword of the law.' There was not another man in France, who would have dared to take such a step, at such a time ; and it required all Lafayette's vast influence to warrant him in expressing such opinions and feelings, or to protect him afterwards.

At first the Jacobins seemed to shrink from a contest with him. He had said to the Assembly, ' Let the reign of clubs, abolished by you, give place to the reign of the law,' and they almost doubted whether he had not yet power enough to effect what he counselled. They began, therefore, as soon as the letter had been read, by denying its authenticity ; they declared it, in short, to be a forgery. As soon as Lafayette heard of this, he came to Paris, and avowed it at the bar of the Assembly. The 20th of June, however, had overthrown the Constitution before his arrival ; and, therefore, though he stood with an air of calm command amidst its ruins, and vindicated it as proudly as ever, he was, after all, surrounded only by those who had triumphed over it. He could not succeed, therefore, and returned to his army on the borders of the low countries. But the army, too, was now infected. He endeavored to assure himself of its fidelity, and proposed to the soldiers to swear anew to the Constitution. A very large proportion refused, and it immediately became apparent, from the movements, both at Paris and in the army, that he was no longer safe. His adversaries, who, for his letter, were determined and interested to ruin him, were his judges ; and they belonged to a party, which was never known to devote a victim without consummating the sacrifice. On the 17th of August, therefore, accompanied by three of his general officers, Alexandre Lavreth, Latour Maubourg, and Bureaux de Puzy, he left the army, and in a few hours was beyond the limits of France. His general purpose was, to reach the territory of the republic of Holland, which was quite near ; and from that point either rally the old constitutional party, or pass to Switzerland, or the United States, where he should be joined by his family. That he did not leave France, while any hope remained for him, is certain, since, before his escape

was known at Paris, a decree accusing him of high treason, which was then equivalent to an order for his execution, was carried in the Assembly by a large majority.

Lafayette and his companions hoped to avoid the enemy's posts, but they did not succeed. They were seized the same night by an Austrian patrol, and soon afterwards recognised. They were not treated as prisoners of war, which was the only quality in which they could have been arrested and detained; but were exposed to disgraceful indignities, because they had been the friends of the Constitution. After being detained, therefore, a short time by the Austrians, they were given up to the Prussians, who, because their fortresses were nearer, were supposed to be able to receive and guard them more conveniently. At first, they were confined at Wesel on the Rhine, and afterwards in dungeons at Magdeburg. But the Prussians, at last, became unwilling to bear the odium of such unlawful and disgraceful treatment of prisoners of war, entitled to every degree of respect from their rank and character; but especially from the manner in which they had been taken. They, therefore, gave them up again to the Austrians, who finally transferred them to dark and damp dungeons in the citadel of Olmütz. The sufferings to which Lafayette was here exposed, in the mere spirit of a barbarous revenge, are almost incredible. He was warned, 'that he would never again see anything but the four walls of his dungeon; that he would never receive news of events or persons; that his name would be unknown in the citadel, and that in all accounts of him sent to court, he would be designated only by a number; that he would never receive any notice of his family, or of the existence of his fellow prisoners.' At the same time, knives and forks were removed from him, as he was officially informed, that his situation was one which would naturally lead him to suicide.\*

His sufferings, indeed, proved almost beyond his strength. The want of air and decent food, and the loathsome dampness and filth of his dungeon, brought him more than once

\* One principal reason of the vindictive spirit of the Austrian Government towards Lafayette, is, no doubt, to be sought in the circumstance, that, as the leader of the early part of the French Revolution, he brought on those events, which led to the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the death of the Queen, who was an Austrian.

to the borders of the grave. His frame was wasted with diseases, of which, for a long period, not the slightest notice was taken ; and, on one occasion, he was reduced so low, that his hair fell from him entirely by the excess of his sufferings. At the same time, his estates in France were confiscated, his wife cast into prison, and *Fayettisme*, as adherence to the Constitution was called, was punished with death.

His friends, however, all over Europe, were carefully watching every opportunity to obtain some intelligence which should, at least, render his existence certain. Among those who made the most vigorous and continued exertions to get some hint of his fate, was Count Lally Tolendal, then a refugee from his blood stained country. This nobleman became acquainted in London with Dr Erick Bollmann, a Hanoverian, who immediately after the massacres of August 10th, 1792, had been employed by Madame de Staël to effect the escape of Count Narbonne, and, by great address and courage, had succeeded in conveying him safely to England. Dr Bollmann's adventurous spirit easily led him to engage in the affairs of Lafayette. His first expedition to the continent, under the direction of Lafayette's friends in London, in 1793, was, however, no further successful, than that he learned the determination of the Prussian government to give up Lafayette to Austria, and the probability that he had been already transferred. Where he was, and whether he were even alive, were circumstances Dr Bollmann found it impossible to determine.

But the friends of Lafayette were not discouraged. In June 1794, they again sent Dr Bollmann to Germany to ascertain what had been his fate, and if he were still alive, to endeavor to procure his escape. With great difficulty, he traced the French prisoners to the Prussian frontiers and there ascertained, that an Austrian escort had received them, and taken the road to Olmütz, a strong fortress in Moravia, one hundred and fifty miles north of Vienna, and near the borders of Silesia. At Olmütz, Dr Bollmann ascertained, that several state prisoners were kept in the citadel with a degree of caution and mystery, which must have been not unlike that used towards the half fabulous personage in the iron mask. He did not doubt but Lafayette was one of

them, and making himself professionally acquainted with the military surgeon of the post, soon became sure of it. By very ingenious means, Dr Bollmann contrived to communicate his projects through this surgeon to Lafayette, and to obtain answers without exciting the surgeon's suspicions ; until, at last, after the lapse of several months, during which, to avoid all risk, Dr Bollmann made a long visit at Vienna, it was determined, that an attempt should be made to rescue Lafayette, while on one of the airings, with which he was then regularly indulged, on account of his broken health.

As soon as this was arranged, Dr Bollmann returned to Vienna, and communicated his project to a young American, by the name of Francis K. Huger, then accidentally in Austria ; son of the person at whose house in Charleston, Lafayette had been first received on his landing in America ; a young man of uncommon talent, decision, and enthusiasm, who at once entered into the whole design, and devoted himself to its execution with the most romantic earnestness. These were the only two persons on the continent, except Lafayette himself, who had the slightest suspicion of any arrangements for his rescue, and neither of these persons knew him by sight. It was therefore concerted between the parties, after the two friends had come to Olmütz in November, that, to avoid all mistakes when the rescue should be attempted, each should take off his hat and wipe his forehead, in sign of recognition ; and then, having ascertained a day, when Lafayette would ride out, Dr Bollmann and Mr Huger sent their carriage ahead to Hoff, a post town about twenty five miles on the road they wished to take, with directions to have it waiting for them at a given hour. The rescue they determined to attempt on horseback ; and they put no balls into their pistols, and took no other weapons, thinking it would be unjustifiable to commit a murder even to effect their purpose.

Having ascertained that a carriage, which they supposed must contain Lafayette, since there was a prisoner and an officer inside and a guard behind, had passed out of the gate of the fortress, they mounted and followed. They rode by it, and then slackening their pace and allowing it again to go ahead, exchanged signals with the prisoner. At two or three miles from the gate, the carriage left the high

road, and passing into a less frequented tract in the midst of an open country, Lafayette descended to walk for exercise, guarded only by the officer who had been riding with him. This was evidently the moment for their attempt. They therefore rode up at once ; and after an inconsiderable struggle with the officer, from which the guard fled to alarm the citadel, the rescue was completed. One of the horses, however, had escaped during the contest, and thus only one remained with which to proceed. Lafayette was immediately mounted on this horse, and Mr Huger told him, in English, to go to Hoff. He mistook what was said to him for a mere general direction to go *off*—delayed a moment to see if he could not assist them—then went on—then rode back again, and asked once more, if he could be of no service—and finally, urged anew, galloped slowly away.

The horse, that had escaped, was soon recovered, and both Dr Bollmann and Mr Huger mounted him, intending to follow and assist Lafayette. But the animal proved intractable,\* threw them and left them, for some time, stunned by their fall. On recovering their horse a second time, Dr Bollmann alone mounted ; Mr Huger thinking that, from his own imperfect knowledge of the German, he could not do as much towards effecting their main purpose. These accidents defeated their romantic enterprise. Mr Huger, who could now attempt his escape only on foot, was soon stopped by some peasants, who had witnessed what had passed. Dr Bollmann easily arrived at Hoff ; but not finding Lafayette there, lingered about the frontiers till the next night, when he too was arrested and delivered up to the Austrians. And finally Lafayette, having taken a wrong road and pursued it till his horse could proceed no further, was stopped at the village of Jägersdorff, as a suspicious person, and detained there till he was recognised by an officer from Olmütz, three days afterwards. All three of them were brought back to the citadel separately, and were there separately confined without being permitted to know anything of each other's fate. Mr Huger was chained to the floor, in a small arched dungeon, about six feet by eight, without light and with only bread and water for food ; and once in six hours, by day and

\* This was the horse prepared for Lafayette. The other, on which it had been necessary to mount him, had been expressly trained to carry two persons.

by night, the guard entered, and with a lamp, examined each brick, and each link of his chain. To his earnest request to know something of Dr Bollmann, and to learn whether Lafayette had escaped, he received no answer at all. To his more earnest request to be permitted to send to his mother in America merely the words, 'I am alive,' signed with his name, he received a rude refusal. Indeed, at first, every degree of brutal severity was practised towards both of them; but, afterwards, this severity was relaxed. The two prisoners were placed nearer together, where they could communicate; and their trial for what, in Vienna, was magnified into a wide and alarming conspiracy, was begun with all the tedious formalities, that could be prescribed by Austrian fear and caution. How it would have turned, if they had been left entirely unprotected, it is not difficult to conjecture; but at this crisis of their fate, they were secretly assisted by Count Metrowsky, a nobleman living near their prison, whom neither of them had ever seen, and who was interested in them, only for what, in the eyes of his government, constituted their crime. The means he used to influence the tribunal, that judged them, may be easily imagined, since they were so far successful, that the prisoners, after having been confined for trial eight months, were sentenced only to a fortnight's imprisonment as their punishment, and then released. A few hours after they had left Olmütz, an order came from Vienna directing a new trial, which under the management of the ministers would of course have ended very differently from the one managed by Count Metrowsky; but the prisoners were already beyond the limits of the Austrian dominions.

Lafayette, in the meanwhile, was thrown back into his obscure and ignominious sufferings, with hardly a hope that they could be terminated, except by his death. During the winter of 1794-5, he was reduced to almost the last extremity by a violent fever; and yet was deprived of proper attendance, of air, of suitable food, and of decent clothes. To increase his misery, he was made to believe, that he was only reserved for a public execution, and that his chivalrous deliverers had already perished on the scaffold; while at the same time, he was not permitted to know whether his family were still alive, or had fallen under the revolutionary axe, or which, during the few days he was out of his dungeon, he had heard such appalling accounts

Madame de Lafayette, however, was nearer to him than he could imagine to be possible. She had been released from prison, where she, too, had nearly perished; and, having gained strength sufficient for the undertaking, and sent her eldest son for safety to the care of General Washington, she sat out, accompanied by her two young daughters for Germany, all in disguise, and with American passports. They were landed at Altona, and, proceeding immediately to Vienna, obtained an audience of the Emperor, who refused to liberate Lafayette, but as it now seems probable, against the intentions of his ministers gave them permission to join him in his prison. They went instantly to Olmütz; but before they could enter, they were deprived of whatever they had brought with them to alleviate the miseries of a dungeon, and required, if they should pass its threshold, never again to leave it. Madame de Lafayette's health soon sunk under the complicated sufferings and privations of her loathsome imprisonment, and she wrote to Vienna for permission to pass a week in the capital, to breathe purer air and obtain medical assistance. Two months elapsed before any answer was returned; and then she was told, that no objection would be made to her leaving her husband; but that, if she should do so, she must never return to him. She immediately and formally signed her consent and determination 'to share his captivity in all its details;' and never afterwards made an effort to leave him. Madame de Staël has well observed, when on this point of the history of the French Revolution;—'antiquity offers nothing more admirable, than the conduct of General Lafayette, his wife and his daughters, in the prison of Olmütz.'

One more attempt was made to effect the liberation of Lafayette, and it was made in the place and in the way, that might have been expected. When the Emperor of Austria refused the liberty of her husband to Madame de Lafayette, he told her that 'his hands were tied.' In this remark, the Emperor could, of course, allude to no law or constitution of his empire, and therefore, his hands could be tied only by engagements with his allies in the war against France. England was one of these allies, and therefore, General Fitzpatrick, in the House of Commons, on the 16th December, 1796, made a motion for an inquiry into the case. He was



supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia, by Wilberforce, and by Fox ; but the motion was lost. One effect, however, unquestionably followed from it. A solemn and vehement discussion, on Lafayette's imprisonment, in which the Emperor of Austria found no apologist, had been held in the face of all Europe ; and all Europe, of course, was informed of his sufferings, in the most solemn and authentic way.

When, therefore, General Clarke was sent from Paris to join Bonaparte in Italy, and negotiate a peace with the Austrians, it was understood, that he received orders to stipulate for the deliverance of the prisoners in Olmütz, since it was impossible for France to consent to such an outrage on the rights of citizenship, as would be implied by their further detention. On opening the negotiation, an attempt was made on the part of Austria, to compel Lafayette to receive his freedom on conditions prescribed to him ; but this he distinctly refused ; and in a document that has often been published, declared with a firmness, which we can hardly believe would have survived such sufferings, that he would never accept his liberation in any way, that should compromise his rights and duties, either as a Frenchman, or as an *American citizen*. He was with his family released, at last, on the 25th August, 1797 ; Madame de Lafayette and her daughters having been confined twentytwo months, and Lafayette himself five years, in a disgraceful spirit of vulgar cruelty and revenge, of which modern history can afford, we trust, very few examples.\*

\* Madame de Lafayette never entirely recovered from it. Her constitution had been crushed by her sufferings ; and though she lived ten years afterwards, she never had the health with which she entered the dungeon of Olmütz. She died, at last, at La Grange, in December 1807.

During Lafayette's imprisonment, our own government employed such means as were in its power for his release. The American ministers at the European Courts were instructed to use their exertions to this end ; and when Washington found that no success was to be hoped from this quarter, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Emperor of Austria, interceding in behalf of this early friend of American liberty. The letter is introduced in this place, as reflecting honor on the feelings and character of Washington, and as expressing sentiments not more deeply cherished by him, than by a whole nation.

‘ It will readily occur to your Majesty, that occasions may sometimes exist, on which official considerations would constrain the chief of a nation to be silent and passive, in relation even to objects which affect his sensibility, and claim his interposition as a man. Finding myself precisely in this situation

France was still too little settled to promise peace or safety to Lafayette and his family. They proceeded first to Hamburg; and then, after causing their rights both as French and American citizens to be formally recognised, went to the neighboring territories of Holstein, where they lived in retirement and tranquillity two years. There they were joined by their eldest son, who came to them from the family of General Washington; there, too, their eldest daughter was married to Latour Maubourg, brother of the person who had shared Lafayette's captivity; and there he first devoted himself with great earnestness to those agricultural pursuits, which have since constituted the occupation and the happiness of his life. While, however, he was thus living tranquil and happy in the midst of his family in Holstein, but anxiously watching the progress of events in France, the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, November 10th, 1799, happened, and promised for a time to settle the government of his country on a safer foundation. He immediately returned to France, and established himself at La Grange; a fine old castle, surrounded by a moderate estate about forty miles from Paris, where he has lived ever since.

When, however, Bonaparte, to whom the revolution of the 18th Brumaire had given supreme control, began to frame his constitution and organise his government, Lafayette perceived, at once, that the principles of freedom would not

at present, I take the liberty of writing this private letter to your majesty, being persuaded that my motives will also be my apology for it.

'In common with the people of this country, I retain a strong and cordial sense of the services rendered to them by the Marquis de Lafayette; and my friendship for him has been constant and sincere. It is natural, therefore, that I should sympathise with him and his family in their misfortunes; and endeavor to mitigate the calamities they experience, among which his present confinement is not the least distressing.

'I forbear to enlarge on this delicate subject. Permit me only to submit to your majesty's consideration, whether his long imprisonment, and the confiscation of his estate, and the indigence and dispersion of his family, and the painful anxieties incident to all these circumstances, do not form an assemblage of sufferings, which recommend him to the mediation of humanity? Allow me, Sir, on this occasion to be its organ, and to entreat that he may be permitted to come to this country, on such conditions as your majesty may think it expedient to prescribe.

'As it is a maxim with me not to ask what, under similar circumstances, I would not grant, your majesty will do me the justice to believe, that this request appears to me to correspond with those great principles of magnanimity and wisdom, which form the basis of sound policy and durable glory.

be permanently respected. He had several interviews and political discussions with the Consul, and was much pressed to accept the place of Senator, with its accompanying revenues, in the new order of things ; but he refused, determined not to involve himself in changes, which he already foresaw he should not approve. In 1802, Bonaparte asked to be made First Consul for life ; Lafayette voted against it, entered his protest, and sent a letter to Bonaparte himself ; and from this moment all intercourse between them ceased. Bonaparte even went so far as to refuse to promote Lafayette's eldest son, and his son in law Lasteyrie, though they distinguished themselves repeatedly in the army ; and once, when a report of the services of the former in a bulletin was offered him, he erased it with impatience, saying, 'These Lafayettes cross my path everywhere.' Discouraged, therefore, in every way in which they could be of service to their country, the whole family was at last collected at La Grange, and lived there in the happiest retirement, so long as the despotism of Bonaparte lasted.

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 made no change in Lafayette's relations. He presented himself once at court, and was very kindly received ; but the government they established was so different from the representative government, which he had assisted to form, and sworn to support in 1789, that he did not again present himself at the palace. The Bourbons, by neglecting entirely to understand or conciliate the nation, at the end of a year, brought back Bonaparte, who landed the first of March, 1815, and reached the capital on the 20th. His appearance in Paris was like a theatrical illusion, and his policy seemed to be to play all men, of all parties, like the characters of a great drama, around him. Immediately on his arrival upon the soil of France, he endeavored to win the old friends of French freedom ; and the same day, that he made his irruption into the ancient palace of the Thuilleries, he appointed Carnot his minister of war, and Carnot was weak enough to accept the appointment. In a similar way, he endeavored to obtain the countenance and cooperation of Lafayette. Joseph Bonaparte, to whom Lafayette had been personally known, and for whom he entertained a personal regard, was employed by the Emperor to consult and conciliate him ; but Lafayette

would hold no communion with the new order of things. He even refused, though most pressingly solicited, to have an interview with the Emperor; and ended, when still further urged, by positively declaring, that he could never meet him, unless it should be as a representative freely chosen by the people.

On the 22d of April, Napoleon offered to the French nation his *Acte Additionel*, or an addition, as he chose to consider it, to the constitution of 1799, 1802, and 1804; confirming thereby, the principles of his former despotism, but establishing, among other things, an hereditary chamber of peers, and an elective chamber of representatives. This act was accepted, or pretended to be accepted, by the votes of the French people; but Lafayette entered his solemn protest against it, in the same spirit with which he had protested against the Consulship for life. The very college of Electors, however, who received his protest, unanimously chose him first to be their President, and afterwards to be their Representative; and the Emperor, determined to obtain his influence, or at least his silence, offered him the first peerage in the new chamber he was forming. Lafayette was as true to his principles, as he had often been before, under more difficult circumstances. He accepted the place of representative, and declined the peerage.

As a representative of the people he saw Bonaparte, for the first time, at the opening of the chambers, on the 7th of June. 'It is above twelve years, since we have met, General,' said Napoleon, with great kindness of manner, when he saw Lafayette; but Lafayette received the Emperor with marked distrust; and all his efforts were directed as he then happily said they should be, 'to make the chamber of which he was a member, a representation of the French people, and not a Napoleon club.' Of three candidates for the presidency of the chamber, on the first ballot, Lafayette and Lanjuinais had the highest number of votes; but finding that the Emperor had declared he would not accept Lanjuinais, if he should be chosen, Lafayette used great exertions and obtained a majority for him; to which circumstances compelled Napoleon to submit. From this moment, until after the battle of Waterloo, which happened in twelve days, Lafayette did not make himself prominent in the cham-

ber. He voted for all judicious supplies, on the ground that France was invaded, and that it was the duty of all Frenchmen to defend their country ; but he in no way implicated himself in Bonaparte's projects or fortunes, with which it was impossible he could have anything in common.

At last, on the 21st June, Bonaparte arrived from Waterloo, a defeated and desperate man. He was already determined to dissolve the representative body, and, assuming the whole dictatorship of the country, play, at least, one deep and bloody game for power and success. Two of his council, Regnault de St Jean d'Angely, and Thibaudeau, who were opposed to this violent measure, informed Lafayette, that it would be taken instantly, and that in two hours the chamber of representatives would cease to exist. There was, of course, not a moment left for consultation or advice ; the Emperor, or the chamber, must fall that morning. As soon, therefore, as the session was opened, Lafayette, with the same clear courage and in the same spirit of self devotion, with which he had stood at the bar of the National Assembly in 1792, immediately ascended the Tribune for the first time for twenty years, and said these few words, which assuredly would have been his death warrant, if he had not been supported in them by the assembly he addressed ; 'When, after an interval of many years, I raise a voice which the friends of free institutions will still recognise, I feel myself called upon to speak to you only of the dangers of the country, which you alone have now the power to save. Sinister intimations have been heard ; they are unfortunately confirmed. This, therefore, is the moment for us to gather round the ancient tricolored standard ; the standard of '89 ; the standard of freedom, of equal rights, and of public order. Permit then, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who has always been a stranger to the spirit of faction, to offer you a few preparatory resolutions, whose absolute necessity, I trust, you will feel as I do.' These resolutions declared the chamber to be in permanent session, and all attempts to dissolve it, high treason ; and they also called for the four principal ministers to come to the chamber, and explain the state of affairs. Bonaparte is said to have been much agitated, when word was brought him simply that Lafayette was in the tribune ; and his fears were certainly not

ill founded, for these resolutions, which were at once adopted, both by the representatives and the peers, substantially divested him of his power, and left him merely a factious and dangerous individual in the midst of a distracted state.

He hesitated during the whole day, as to the course he should pursue; but, at last, hoping that the eloquence of Lucien, which had saved him on the 18th Brumaire, might be found no less effectual now, he sent him with the three other ministers to the chamber, just at the beginning of the evening; having first obtained a vote, that all should pass in secret session. It was certainly a most perilous crisis. Reports were abroad that the populace of the Faubourgs had been excited, and were arming themselves. It was believed, too, with no little probability, that Bonaparte would march against the chamber, as he had formerly marched against the council of Five Hundred, and disperse them at the point of the bayonet. At all events, it was a contest for existence, and no man could feel his life safe. At this moment, Lucien rose, and in the doubtful and gloomy light, which two vast torches shed through the hall and over the pale and anxious features of the members, made a partial exposition of the state of affairs, and the projects and hopes he still entertained. A deep and painful silence followed. At length Mr Jay, well known above twenty years ago in Boston, under the assumed name of Renaud, as a teacher of the French language, and an able writer in one of the public newspapers of that city, ascended the Tribune, and, in a long and vehement speech of great eloquence, exposed the dangers of the country, and ended by proposing to send a deputation to the Emperor, demanding his abdication. Lucien immediately followed. He never showed more power, or a more impassioned eloquence. His purpose was to prove, that France was still devoted to the Emperor, and that its resources were still equal to a contest with the allies. 'It is not Napoleon,' he cried, 'that is attacked, it is the French people. And a proposition is now made to this people to abandon their Emperor; to expose the French nation, before the tribunal of the world, to a severe judgment on its levity and inconstancy. No, sir, the honor of this nation shall never be so compromised!' On hearing these words, Lafayette rose. He did not go to the tribune; but spoke, con-

trary to rule and custom, from his place. His manner was perfectly calm, but marked with the very spirit of rebuke ; and he addressed himself, not to the President, but directly to Lucien. 'The assertion, which has just been uttered, is a calumny. Who shall dare to accuse the French nation of inconstancy to the Emperor Napoleon ? That nation has followed his bloody footsteps through the sands of Egypt and through the wastes of Russia ; over fifty fields of battle ; in disaster as faithfully as in victory ; and it is for having thus devotedly followed him, that we now mourn the blood of three millions of Frenchmen.' These few words made an impression on the Assembly, which could not be mistaken or resisted ; and as Lafayette ended, Lucien himself bowed respectfully to him, and, without resuming his speech, sat down.

It was determined to appoint a deputation of five members from each chamber, to meet the grand council of the ministers, and deliberate in committee, on the measures to be taken. This body sat during the night, under the presidency of Cambaceres, Arch Chancellor of the empire. Lafayette moved, that a deputation should be sent to Napoleon, demanding his abdication. The Arch Chancellor refused to put the motion ; but it was as much decided, as if it had been formally carried. The next morning, June 22d, the Emperor sent in his abdication, and Lafayette was on the committee that went to the Thuilleries to thank him for it, on behalf of the nation.

A crude, provisional government was now established by the two chambers, which lasted only a few days, and whose principal measure was the sending a deputation to the allied powers, of which Lafayette was the head, to endeavor to stop the invasion of France. This of course failed, as had been foreseen ; Paris surrendered on the 3d of July, and what remained of the representative government, which Bonaparte had created for his own purposes, but which Lafayette had turned against him, was soon afterwards dissolved. Its doors were found guarded on the morning of the 8th, but by what authority has never been known ; and the members met at Lafayette's house, entered their formal protest, and went quietly to their own homes.

Lafayette retired immediately to La Grange, from which, in fact, he had been only a month absent, and resumed at

once his agricultural employments. There, in the midst of a family of above twenty children and grand children, who all look up to him as their patriarchal chief, he lives in a simple and sincere happiness rarely granted to those, who have borne such a leading part in the troubles and sufferings of a great period of political revolution. Since 1817 he has been twice elected to the Chamber of Deputies, and in all his votes has shown himself constant to his ancient principles. When the ministry proposed to establish a censorship of the press, he resisted them in an able speech; but Lafayette was never a factious man, and therefore, he has never made any further opposition to the present order of things in France, than his conscience and his official place required. That he does not approve the present constitution of the monarchy, or the political principles and management of the existing government, his votes as a deputy, and his whole life, plainly show; and that his steady and temperate opposition is matter of serious anxiety to the family now on the throne is apparent, from their conduct towards him during the last nine years, and their management of the public press since he has been in this country. If he chose to make himself a tribune of the people, he might at any moment become formidable; but he trusts rather to the progress of general intelligence and political wisdom throughout the nation, which he feels sure will, at last, bring his country to the practically free government, he has always been ready to sacrifice his life to purchase for it. To this great result he looks forward, as Madame de Staël has well said of him, with the entire confidence a pious man enjoys in a future life; but, when he feels anxious and impatient to hasten onward to it, he finds a wisdom tempered by long experience stirring within him, which warns him, in the beautiful language of Milton, that 'they also serve who only stand and wait.'

This is the distinguished personage, who, after an absence of eight and thirty years, is now come to visit the nation, for whose independence and freedom he hazarded whatever is most valued in human estimation, almost half a century ago. He comes, too, at the express invitation of the entire people; he is literally the 'Guest of the Nation;' but, the guest, it should be remembered, of another generation, than the one he originally came to serve. We rejoice at it. We rejoice,



in common with the thousands who throng his steps wherever he passes, that we are permitted to offer this tribute of a gratitude and veneration, which cannot be misinterpreted, to one, who suffered with our fathers for our sake ; but we rejoice yet more for the moral effect it cannot fail to produce on us, both as individuals and as a people. For it is no common spectacle, which is now placed before *each of us* for our instruction. We are permitted to see one, who, by the mere force of principle, by plain and resolved integrity, has passed with perfect consistency, through more remarkable extremes of fortune, than any man now alive, or perhaps, any man on record. We are permitted to see one who has borne a leading and controlling part in two hemispheres, and in the two most important revolutions the world has yet seen, and has come forth from both of them without the touch of dishonor. We are permitted to see that man, who first put in jeopardy his rank and fortune at home, in order to serve as a volunteer in the cause of Free Institutions in America, and afterwards hazarded his life at the bar of the National Assembly, to arrest the same cause, when it was tending to excess and violence. We are permitted to see the man, who, after three years of unbroken political triumph, stood in the midst of half a million of his countrymen, comprehending whatever was great, wise and powerful in the nation, with the *oriflamme* of the monarchy at his feet, and the confidence of all France following his words, as he swore on their behalf to a free constitution ; and yet remained undazzled and unseduced by his vast, his irresistible popularity. We are permitted to see the man, who, for the sake of the same principles to which he had thus sworn, and in less than three years afterwards, was condemned to such obscure sufferings, that his very existence became doubtful to the world, and the place of his confinement was effectually hidden from the inquiries of his friends, who sent emissaries over half Europe to discover it ; and yet remained unshaken and undismayed, constantly refusing all appearance of compromise with his persecutors and oppressors. We are, in short, permitted to see a man, who has professed, amidst glory and suffering, in triumph and in disgrace, the same principles of political freedom on both sides of the Atlantic ; who has maintained the same tone, the same air, the same open confidence, amidst

the ruins of the Bastille, in the Champ de Mars, under the despotism of Bonaparte, and in the dungeons of Olmütz.

We rejoice, too, no less in the effect which this visit of General Lafayette is producing upon us *as a nation*. It is doing much to unite us. It has brought those together, who have been separated by long lives of political animosity. It helps to break down the great boundaries and landmarks of party. It makes a holiday of kind and generous feelings in the hearts of the multitudes that throng his way, as he moves in triumphal procession from city to city. It turns this whole people from the bustle and divisions of our wearisome elections, the contests of the senate house, and the troubles and bitterness of our manifold political dissensions; and instead of all this, carries us back to that great period in our history, about which opinions have long been tranquil and settled. It offers to us, as it were, with the very costume and air appropriate to the times, one of the great actors, from this most solemn passage in our national destinies; and thus enables us to transmit yet one generation further onward, a sensible impression of the times of our fathers; since we are not only permitted to witness ourselves one of their foremost leaders and champions, but can show him to our children, and thus leave in their young hearts an impression, which will grow old there with their deepest and purest feelings. It brings, in fact, our revolution nearer to us, with all the highminded patriotism and selfdenying virtues of our forefathers; and therefore naturally turns our thoughts more towards our posterity, and makes us more anxious to do for them what we are so sensibly reminded was done with such perilous sacrifices for us.

We may be allowed, too, to add, that we rejoice in General Lafayette's visit, *on his own account*. He enjoys a singular distinction; for it is a strange thing in the providence of God, one that never happened before, and will, probably, never happen again, that an individual from a remote quarter of the world, having assisted to lay the foundation of a great nation, should be permitted thus to visit the posterity of those he served, and witness on a scale so vast, the work of his own sacrifices; the result of grand principles in government, for which he contended before their practical effect had been tried; the growth and maturity of institutions,

which he assisted to establish, when their operation could be calculated only by the widest and most clear sighted circumspection. We rejoice in it, for it is, we doubt not, the most gratifying and appropriate reward, that could be offered to a spirit like his. In the beautiful phrase which Tacitus has applied to Germanicus, *fruitur fama* ; for he must be aware, that the ocean which rolls between us and Europe, operates like the grave on all feelings of passion and party, and that the voice of gratitude and admiration, which now rises to greet him, from every city, every village, and every heart, of this wide land, is as pure and sincere as the voice of posterity.

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ART. VII.—*Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.* By OCTAVIUS PICKERING, Counsellor at Law. Vol. 1 ; Containing the Cases from September Term, 1822, in Berkshire, to October Term, 1823, in Middlesex. Boston, Wells & Lilly. pp. 580.

IT is not our province to keep our readers thoroughly instructed in the laws, and make our review a substitute for a law journal. In this country the law is the only sovereign whose supremacy is acknowledged ; and as in monarchies and empires reports of the health of the king or emperor are often made to the public, as being a matter in which all his subjects are interested, so we owe it to the public to give occasional notices of any material circumstances affecting the state and condition of this sovereign of ours. Some of our readers may possibly be of opinion, that we perform this part of our duty with an over scrupulous fidelity, and, in this *legal dispensation*, impose upon ourselves, and upon them, some supererogatory labors. If it be so, and we lose sight of our proper objects by turning too often in pursuit of the law, it will be conceded to us, as some excuse, that we err on the safer side, for of all subjects that can occupy the community, none is more important, and of a more deep and lasting interest, than the character and state of our laws ; since no cause so intimately affects the dignity, prosperity, morals, and hap-